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Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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---------- 086631
O 280913Z MAY 75 ZFF 4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 SECTO 02025

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJECT: JAPAN SOCIETY SPEECH
FOR LORD FROM GOMPERT AND ADAMS

1. THE FOLLOWING PAPER WAS HANDED TO THE SECRETARY MAY 27 BY FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA. IT CONTAINS THE JAPANESE SUGGESTIONS FOR HIS JUNE 18 JAPAN SOCIETY SPEECH. THE SECRETARY WANTS YOU TO KNOW THAT THE JAPANESE ARE KEEN TO HAVE THE SPEECH FOCUSSED ON JAPAN AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. HE WOULD LIKE YOU TO WORK THIS MATERIAL INTO WHAT YOU ARE PREPARING FOR HIM AND IN ACCORD WITH JAPANESE DESIRES TO DEVOTE MOST OF THE SPEECH TO JAPAN. THIS SHOULD, HOWEVER, NOT BE DONE TO THE EXCLUSION OF OTHER ASIAN TOPICS OF WHICH HE WOULD STILL LIKE THE SAME TREATMENT.
2. BEGIN TEXT: SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, JAPAN HAS BEEN CARRYING OUT A HISTORICAL EXPERIMENT: AN EXPERIMENT TO PLACE HER FATE WHOLLY AND ALONE IN THE GOOD WILL OF OTHERS WHILE KEEPING HER OWN MILITARY CAPABILITY TO THE MINIMUM. THIS EXPERIMENT, WHICH SOME JAPANESE CONSIDER NOT SO MUCH A CHOICE OF THEIR OWN AS SOMETHING FORCED UPON THEM, HAS BEEN NEVERTHELESS SUCCESSFUL. FREE ECONOMY OF JAPAN HAS ACHIEVED UNPARALLELED GROWTH. PARLIAMENTARISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM DO NOW SEEM TO BE SECURE IN THE LAND.
3. THE SUCCESS, I BELIEVE, HAS BEEN ATTRIBUTABLE TO
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A SET OF HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES. 1) FOR ONE

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THING, THE U.S.-JAPAN TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY HAS BEEN MOST EFFECTIVE FOR PRESERVING PEACE FOR JAPAN AND HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN SECURING THE STABILITY IN ITS SURROUNDING AREA. 2) JAPAN VIRTUALLY WITHOUT ANY NATURAL RESOURCES HAS BEEN ABLE TO ENJOY FOR LONG ABUNDANCE OF THE SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIALS FROM ABROAD. 3) HAVING BEEN COMMITTED TO THE FREE WORLD, JAPAN'S POLITICAL CHOICES IN THE ARENA OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS HAS BEEN RELATIVELY SIMPLE.
4. THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN PROUD OF THE SUCCESS OF THIS EXPERIMENT, WITHOUT PERHAPS FULLY REALIZING THAT TO CONTINUE THE SUCCESS OF THE EXPERIMENT FOR YEARS TO COME REQUIRES GREATER AND CREATIVE EFFORTS ON HER PART.
5. WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF SO-CALLED DETENTE AND SINCE THE OIL CRISIS IN THE FALL OF 1973' THIS RELATIVELY SIMPLE UNIVERSE BEGAN TO DISINTEGRATE, TESTING THE JAPANESE EXPERIMENT IN THE PROCESS. THE DICHOTOMY OF THE COLD WAR YEARS IS YIELDING TO A MORE COMPLEX POWER STRUCTURE AS DETENTE CONTINUES. THE SUPPLIERS OF RAW MATERIALS HAVE EMERGED WITH A VARIETY OF DEMANDS NOT EASILY TO BE ACCOMMODATED IN THE PRESENT WORLD ECONOMIC OR MONETARY SYSTEMS.
6. THESE CHANGING CONDITIONS CALL FOR REALISTIC AND SEASONED RESPONSES ON THE PART OF JAPAN IN TRYING TO MOULD HER FUTURE BY HER OWN HANDS. CAN JAPAN SECURE THE CONTINUED SUCCESS OF HER POSTWAR EXPERIMENT IN THE FACE OF THESE EVER INCREASING COMPLEXITIES OF THE WORLD? NEEDLESS TO SAY, THIS IS THE CHALLENGE WE OURSELVES HAVE TO COPE WITH, AND THERE IS SOME CONSENSUS AS TO WHERE OUR FUTURE SHOULD LIE. THAT IS TO SAY, EVEN WITH MANY A POLITICALLY DIVERGENT IDEOLOGICAL GROUP IN JAPAN, FEW WOULD WANT TO DISMANTLE THE DEMOCRATIC FABRIC OF JAPANESE SOCIETY TODAY. IF THERE IS A LEGITIMATE CONCERN IN JAPAN ABOUT HER PRESENT CAPABILITY TO DEFEND HERSELF, NONE WOULD AGREE FOR THE RETURN TO A ONCE HEAVILY ARMED JAPAN.
7. TODAY THE RESOLVE OF THE JAPANESE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES TAKES THE FORMS NOT SO MUCH OF GREATER ARMAMENT AS OF IMPROVING THE CHANCES FOR PEACE IN THE AREA SURROUNDING THEM. THE CONDUCT OF JAPANESE
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DIPLOMACY SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD IN THIS CONTEXT.
8. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CONTINUED SUCCESS OF THIS EXPERIMENT CAN BE ENSURED ONLY IF IT IS ACCOMMODATED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF BROAD COMMON INTERESTS WHICH BIND THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. INDEED, THE CHALLENGE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 SECTO 02025

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BEFORE THE WORLD IS TO BUILD TOGETHER A NEW ORDER
FOR COMMON SURVIVAL, STABILITY AND PROSPERITY.
9. YOUR SPEECH IN ST. LOUIS ON MAY 12 ELUCIDATED THE
KEY PROBLEMS TO BE TACKLED IN THIS SEARCH FOR A NEW
ORDER. YOU STATED THAT THE VISION OF PEACE MUST
HAVE SCOPE TO INCLUDE BOTH THE NEW PROBLEMS OF
INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE PERSISTENT TRADITIONAL ISSUES
OF POLITICS AND SECURITY. YOU STRESSED ALSO THE
IMPORTANCE OF THE NEW RANGE OF ISSUES BETWEEN NORTH
AND SOUTH.
10. THE QUESTION FOR JAPAN IS WHAT SHE CAN DO IN
COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS
OF THE WORLD ACROSS THESE BROAD FRONTS. AND THE
QUESTION FOR THE UNITED STATES IS WHAT JAPAN MEANS
TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE EMERGING WORLD CONTEXT.
THIS LATTER QUESTION IS ONE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO
ANSWER, BUT LET ME OFFER A FEW IDEAS OF MY OWN.
11. THROUGH HER UNIQUE EXPERIMENT, JAPAN HAS ATTAINED
A POSITION PARTICULARLY CONDUCIVE TO THE COMMON
GLOBAL ENDEAVORS TO MEET THE MULTIPLE CHALLENGES
OF PEACE, WHICH ARE NO LONGER LIMITED TO THE SPHERE
OF MILITARY STRENGTH.
12. TOGETHER WE RECOGNIZE THE VALUE OF THE COOPERATIVE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, PREDICATED
ABOVE ALL ON OUR SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, AS AN
IMPORTANT AND DURABLE ELEMENT, POLITICALLY AS WELL AS
PSYCHOLOGICALLY, FOR THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF ASIA.
OUR DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN ITS EFFECTIVE AND
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MEANINGFUL ROLE REMAINS FIRM.
13. THE RECENT UNFOLDING OF EVENTS IN ASIA RAISES AGAIN THE QUESTION OF WHAT ROLES JAPAN CAN PLAY IN THE AREA. A READY ANSWER WOULD BE THAT JAPAN CAN CONTRIBUTE IN THE FOR OF ECONOMIC INTERCHANGE AND ASSISTANCE TO THE EFFORTS OF THOSE NATIONS DESIRING HELP TO CONSOLIDATE THE BASIS OF THEIR NATION-BUILDING AND RESILIENCE.
14. TODAY, HOWEVER, THERE IS AN ADDED POLITICAL DIMENSION TO SUCH JAPANESE ROLE IN THE EMERGING ASIAN CONTEXT WHILE VARYING DEGREES OF ESTRANGEMENT ARE ANTICIPATED BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES

ON THE ONE HAND AND NORTH VIETNAM, SOUTH VIETNAM, AND PERHAPS LAOS ON THE OTHER, THESE COUNTRIES ARE LIKELY TO BE DESIROUS OF MAINTAINING SUBSTANTIAL CONTACTS WITH JAPAN. TO THE EXTENT THAT JAPAN IS INVOLVED ECONOMICALLY AND OTHERWISE IN THEIR EFFORTS FOR NATION-BUILDING, SHE MAY HAVE A LEVERAGE IN ENCOURAGING THESE COUNTRIES TO FOLLOW STEADY ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOP-MENT, THEREBY CREATING A STABLE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IN THE AREA.
15. BOTH JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO REINFORCE THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM WHICH HAS SERVED US FOR THE PAST THIRTY YEARS AND IS NOW UNDER SEVERE STRAIN. OUR COMMON GOAL IS TO ACHIEVE WORLD PROSPERITY THROUGH PROMOTION OF FREER TRADE, INVESTMENT, AND OTHER ECONOMIC EXCHANGES. JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES CAN PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT LEADERSHIP IN THE EFFORTS TO REALIZE THIS GOAL THROUGH THE NEW ROUND OF MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS.
16. ON ENERGY, ONE OF THE PRESSING PROBLEMS OF INTER-DEPENDENCE, WE HAVE FACED THE TEST OF HOW TWO NATIONS WITH ENTIRELY DIFFERENT DEGREES OF NATURAL ENDOWMENTS CAN WORK TOGETHER CONSTRUCTIVELY IN A MULTILATERAL

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UNDERTAKING FOR STABILITY.
17. SUCH CONSTRUCTIVE ENDEAVORS CAN ALSO BE DIRECTED TO OTHER PROBLEMS WHICH CUT ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES, SUCH AS PRESERVATION OF THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT, AND EXPLORATION OF SPACE AND THE OCEANS. IN THESE AREAS, JAPAN CAN EXPAND THE SCOPE OF ITS NATIONAL EXPERIMENT TOWARDS THE WELFARE OF MANKIND IN COOPERATION WITH THE UNTIED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS.
18. THUS THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR CONFIDENCE ON WHAT WE HAVE DONE TOGETHER AND WHAT WE MAY CONTINUE TO DO TOGETHER IN THE FUTURE. AT THE SAME TIME, AS YOU HAVE RIGHTLY POINTED OUT ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS, THE CHALLENGES BEFORE US DO NOT PERMIT US THE LUXURY OF COMPLACENCY, BUT REQUIRE OUR CREATIVE EFFORTS AND DETERMINATION.
19. AS ONE WHO HAS CLOSELY OBSERVED THE EVOLUTION OF JAPAN-U.S. RELATIONS OVER THE PAST THIRTY YEARS, I FEEL THAT OUR LINK HAS BEEN TESTED AND STRENGTHENED IN THE CHANGING WORLD CONTEXT. I LOOK FORWARD TO SUSTAINED MUTUAL COOPERATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES, WHICH NOW HAS A MEANINGFUL HISTORICAL PLACE IN THIS WORLD OF INTERDEPENDENCE. END TEXT
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